

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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P R 112012 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4437

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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USMISSION BERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 05356

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, GW, GE, WB, UR, UN

SUBJECT: TENTATIVE SCENARIO FOR UN ENTRY OF TWO GERMAN
STATES

SUMMARY: TRANSMITTED BELOW IS A TENTATIVE SCENARIO FOR
THE UN ENTRY PROCESS WHICH WAS DISCUSSED AT THE BONN
GROUP MEETING ON APRIL 10. IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY
PRELIMINARY COMMENTS FROM ALLIED AND FRG REPS ON THE
VARIOUS ISSUES WHICH WILL ARISE AS THE PROCESS UNFOLDS.
BONN GROUP REPS AGREED TO TRANSMIT THE SCENARIO TO
THEIR AUTHORITIES FOR COMMENT IN PREPARATION FOR FURTHER
BONN GROUP DISCUSSIONS. ACTION REQUESTED: COMMENTS FROM
DEPARTMENT AND USBER AND USUN. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TENTATIVE SCENARIO AS DISCUSSED BY
THE BONN GROUP ON APRIL 10:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. ISSUANCE BY ALLIED KOMMANDATURA OF BKC/ L ON
ACCESSION OF THE FRG TO THE UN CHARTER.

TEXT: HAS BEEN AGREED. (SEE BERLIN 519)

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TIMING: AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. ENACTMENT OF NECESSARY FEDERAL GERMAN LEGISLATION I. E. UN ENTRY LAW AND LAW APPROVING RATIFICATION OF GRT.

TIMING: MAY OR JUNE (SEE BONN 5178)

3. SUBMISSION OF FRG AND GDR APPLICATIONS FOR UN MEMBERSHIP

TEXT: APPLICATIONS TO BE DRAFTED INDIVIDUALLY BY FRG AND GDR

TIMING: TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN FRG AND GDR; APPLICATIONS WILL PROBABLY BE SENT SOON AFTER ENACTMENT OF NECESSARY LEGISLATION.

4. LETTER FROM FRG REPRESENTATIVE TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL ON INCLUSION OF WEST BERLIN IN FRG ACCESSION TO UN CHARTER.

TEXT: HAS BEEN AGREED IN BONN GROUP (SEE BONN 17147, DECEMBER 15, 1972)

TIMING: SIMULTANEOUS WITH SUBMISSION OF APPLICATION FOR UN MEMBERSHIP.

5. LETTERS TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL FROM PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF EACH OF FOUR POWERS TRANSMITTING COPY OF QD.

TEXT: DRAFT WAS WORKED OUT DURING NEGOTIATION OF QD (SEE BERLIN 1941, NOVEMBER 6, 1972).

TIMING: DAY FOLLOWING CIRCULATION OF FRG AND GDR MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS. (COORDINATION OF DELIVERY PRESUMABLY REQUIRED WITH SOVIETS IN NEW YORK).

6. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION(S) RECOMMENDING POSITIVE VOTE BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS.

TEXT: TO BE WORKED OUT IN BONN GROUP AND CONSULTED WITH SOVIETS IN NEW YORK.

TIMING: SOON AFTER CIRCULATION OF MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS.

7. STATEMENTS TO SECURITY COUNCIL BY EACH OF THREE WESTERN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES, SUPPORTING APPLICATIONS OF FRG AND GDR. TO INCLUDE:
 - A) STATEMENT ON QRR
 - B) CONFIRMATION THAT THREE POWERS ARE AUTHORIZING FRG FRG REPRESENTATION OF WSB.

TEXT: OPERATIVE PORTIONS TO BE IDENTICAL. DRAFT

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TO BE PRESENTED IN BONN GROUP BY UK.

TIMING: EITHER DURING PRELIMINARY DEBATE OR
WHEN EXPLAINING SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE (DEPENDING
ON WHETHER FOUR POWERS SSPONSOR RESOLUTION).

8. GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON MEMBERSHIP OF FRG AND
GDR.

TIMING: PROBABLY AT FALL 1973 SESSION.

END TEXT

2. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS PRESENT COMMENTS WHICH ARE
KEYED TO THE POINTS OF THE SCENARIO. THE DISCUSSION OF
POINT 1, BKC/ L ON EXTENSION OF THE UN CHARTER TO WEST

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BONN 05356

BERLIN IS BEING REPORTED IN SEPTEL. CONCERNING POINT 2,
THE FOREIGN OFFICE REP (BRAEUTIGAM) RECALLED HIS
RECENT COMMENTS ON THE TIMETABLE FOR APPROVAL OF THE
BASIC TREATY AND UN ENTRY LEGISLATION. (BONN 5178). HE
SAID IT WAS STILL AN OPEN QUESTION WHETHER THE BASIC
TREATY WOULD ACTUALLY ENTER INTO FORCE BEFORE THE UN
MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS WERE SUBMITTED. THIS WOULD BE

AFFECTED BY SETTLEMENT OF THE VARIOUS CONDITIONS WHICH EACH SIDE WAS ATTACHING TO THE QUESTION. DEPENDING ON HOW THESE MATTERS WERE RESOLVED WITH THE GDR IN COMING WEEKS, THE FRG MIGHT BE PREPARED TO PROMULGATE THE BASIC TREATY LAW INTERNALLY AT THE SAME TIME AS THE LAW ON UN MEMBERSHIP AND THEN TO AGREE TO SUBMIT THE APPLICATION THE THE UN BEFORE OFFICIAL ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE BASIC TREATY.

3. CONCERNING POINT 3, UN MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS, BRAEUTIGAM RECALLED THAT IN THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS ON UN MEMBERSHIP WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE TIME OF SIGNATURE
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OF THE BASIC TREATY, THE FRG AND GDR HAD AGREED TO COORDINATE THE TIMING OF SUBMISSION OF MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS (SEE BONN 15140, OCTOBER 6, 1972). THERE HAD, HOWEVER, NEVER BEEN AGREEMENT TO COORDINATE THE TEXTS OF THE APPLICATIONS, AND BRAEUTIGAM WAS CERTAIN THAT THE GDR WOULD NOT AGREE TO SUCH PRIOR COORDINATION. THE US REP NOTED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GDR MIGHT INCLUDE OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE IN ITS APPLICATION AND WONDERED IF AN ATTEMPT AT COORDINATION MIGHT NOT BE OF SOME VALUE. BRAEUTIGAM AGREED BUT CONTINUED TO DOUBT THAT THE GDR WOULD AGREE TO SUCH AN EXERCISE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IN 1966 THE GDR APPLICATION HAD BEEN VERY SHORT; THE OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE HAD BEEN CONTAINED IN AN ATTACHED MEMORANDUM.

4. CONCERNING POINT 4, BRAEUTIGAM SAID IT HAD NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHETHER THE LETTER ON INCLUSION OF BERLIN WOULD BE SENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OR BY THE FRG' S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR THE FRG TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE LETTER ON INCLUSION OF BERLIN WAS COMPLETELY SEPARATE FROM THE MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION. OTHERWISE THERE MIGHT BE A DANGER THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD ALSO WISH TO VOTE ON THE QUESTION OF BERLIN REPRESENTATION. DETAILED DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF INFORMING THE SOVIETS OF PROCEDURES DEVISED FOR THE FRG' S REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLIN IS BEING REPORTED IN SEPTTEL.

5. CONCERNING POINT 5, THE US REP SAID WE ASSUMED THAT THE TEXT AGREED IN BERLIN WOULD HAVE TO BE LOOKED AT ONCE MORE BY THE FOUR POWERS TOGETHER BEFORE BEING SENT. THE FOREIGN OFFICE LEGAL ADVISOR (VON RICHTHOFEN) AGREED, NOTING THAT ONE INCONSISTENCY ALREADY EXISTED IN THE TEXT, WHICH SAID THAT THE QD HAD BEEN TRANSMITTED BY THE AMBASSADORS TO THE FEDERAL FOREIGN MINISTER. IN

REALITY THE QD HAD BEEN SENT UNDER COVER OF THIRD PERSON
DIPLOMATIC NOTES AND THE TEXT OF THE LETTER SHOULD
PROBABLY BE ADJUSTED. THE UK LEGAL ADVISOR (BERMAN)
THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO REASON TO CONSULT WITH THE
SOVIETS ON SUCH A SMALL TECHNICAL CHANGE, WHEREAS THE
FRENCH REP (PLAISANT) DID NOT THINK THE TEXT NEEDED TO
BE CHANGED AT ALL. HE SAID THE POINT WAS THAT THE QD
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HAD BEEN SENT BY THE THREE EMBASSIES TO THE FOREIGN
MINISTRY AND THE DETAILS OF THE PROCEDURE WERE OF NO
INTEREST TO THE SOVIETS. PLAISANT THOUGHT IT WOULD BE
DANGEROUS TO REOPEN THE TEXT WITH THE SOVIETS, SINCE
THEY MIGHT TRY TO RENEGOTIATE SOME OF THE SUBSTANTIVE
PORTIONS. THE UK REP (CROMARTIE) THOUGHT THIS DANGER
WOULD ARISE IF THE CONSULTATION WERE DONE IN BERLIN,
BUT BELIEVED THAT IF THE TEXT WERE GIVEN A ONCE OVER IN
NEW YORK AS PART OF PROCEDURAL PREPARATIONS FOR UN
MEMBERSHIP THE DANGER WOULD NOT BE TOO GREAT.

6. A SERIES OF QUESTIONS WERE RAISED IN CONNECTION WITH
POINT 6, THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. UK LEGAL
ADVISOR (BERMAN) RECALLED THAT SOME CONSIDERATION HAD
BEEN GIVEN TO ADDING PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD
REFER TO THE LETTER ENCLOSING THE QD WHICH HAD BEEN SENT
BY THE FOUR POWERS TO THE UN. A DECISION WOULD HAVE TO
BE MADE ON WHETHER TO PROPOSE SUCH LANGUAGE TO THE
SOVIETS.

7. FURTHER, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DECIDED WHETHER THE
FOUR POWERS WOULD JOINTLY SPONSOR THE TWO APPLICATIONS
AND THUS INTRODUCE THE RESOLUTIONS THEMSELVES OR WHETHER

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BONN 05356

SOME OTHER SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBER WOULD BE ASKED TO INTRODUCE A TEXT DRAFTED BY THE FOUR POWERS. BRAEUTIGAM SAID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT WISH TO SEE THE FOUR POWERS SPONSOR THE APPLICATIONS, SINCE THIS WOULD IMPLY THAT THE FRG AND GDR WERE BEING AUTHORIZED BY THE FOUR POWERS TO JOIN THE UN. THE FRG WISHED TO SEE THE MEMBERSHIP PROCESS PROCEED AS NORMALLY AS POSSIBLE. BERMAN AGREED THIS WAS A LOGICAL CONSIDERATION, BUT POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST TO MAINTAIN AS TIGHT CONTROL AS POSSIBLE ON THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION. IF IT WERE SPONSORED BY OTHER COUNTRIES, THERE MIGHT BE THE DANGER THAT UNDESIRABLE ADDITIONS OR CHANGED WOULD BE MADE.

8. THE UK REP (CROMARTIE) NOTED THAT A FURTHER QUESTION WAS WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ONE RESOLUTION COVERING BOTH APPLICATIONS OR INDIVIDUAL ONES FOR THE FRG AND GDR. BRAEUTIGAM SAID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD ALWAYS ASSUMED THAT THE GDR WOULD NOT ACCEPT A SINGLE
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RESOLUTION. HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE IN FRG INTEREST TO HAVE A SINGLE RESOLUTION IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE TIES BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES, AND THOUGHT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO HARM IN MAKING THE PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, HE SAID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT WISH TO MAKE AN ISSUE OF THE QUESTION.

9. CONCERNING POINT 7, I. E. REMARKS BY

ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES, BERMAN NOTED THAT UN PRACTICE DOES NOT ALLOW THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A COUNTRY SPONSORING A RESOLUTION TO MAKE A STATEMENT EXPLAINING HIS VOTE ON HIS OWN RESOLUTION. THUS, IF IT WERE DECIDED THAT THE FOUR POWERS WOULD SPONSOR THE RESOLUTION, (SEE PARA 7 ABOVE), THE ALLIED STATEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE DURING GENERAL DEBATE ON THE QUESTION. ALL REPS AGREED THAT IF WE DID NOT SPONSOR, THE APPROPRIATE TIME FOR THE STATEMENTS WOULD BE WHEN EXPLAINING THE POSITIVE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION.

10. CONCERNING POINT 8, TIMING OF ACTION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BRAEUTIGAM SAID THE FRG WAS DEFINITELY AGAINST

CALLING A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA TO DEAL WITH THE FRG AND GDR APPLICATIONS. AS WITH THE QUESTION OF SPONSORSHIP (PARA 7 ABOVE), THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DID NOT WISH TO HAVE THE MEMBERSHIP PROCESS CONDUCTED IN ANY SPECIAL MANNER AND WAS CONTENT TO WAIT UNTIL SEPTEMBER FOR THE FINAL VOTE. BRAEUTIGAM NOTED THAT SINCE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION WOULD PROBABLY NOT COME UNTIL THE MIDDLE OR END OF JUNE, MOST DELEGATIONS WOULD PROBABLY BE ANXIOUS TO LEAVE ON SUMMER HOLIDAY AND A SPECIAL SESSION WOULD IN ANY CASE BE HARD TO ARRANGE.

11. BRAEUTIGAM SAID THAT THE GDR DID NOT SEEM TO BE PUSHING ITS PROPOSAL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION, SO THE MATTER MIGHT NOT BE RAISED AT ALL. THE US REP RECALLED PRESS REPORTS TO THE EFFECT THAT ONE REASON THE GDR WANTED A SPECIAL SESSION AT A LOWER LEVEL WAS TO AVOID THE EMBARRASSMENT OF HAVING HONECKER UPSTAGED BY BRANDT IF BOTH WERE IN NEW YORK AT THE SAME TIME IN SEPTEMBER. BY HAVING MEMBERSHIP APPROVED EARLIER, HONECKER COULD GO TO NEW YORK AT A TIME OF HIS CHOOSING WITHOUT HAVING

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TO FEAR COMPETITION FROM BRANDT. THE US REP CAUTIONED BRAEUTIGAM AGAINST UNDERESTIMATING THESE PRESTIGE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 BONN 05356

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EAST GERMAN SIDE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IF THE EAST GERMANS AND SOVIETS REALLY WANTED IT, A SPECIAL SESSION COULD PROBABLY STILL BE ARRANGED AT THE END OF JUNE BEFORE THE HOLIDAYS BEGAN.

12. THE UK REP (CROMARTIE) SUPPORTED THIS VIEW BY REPORTING THAT GDR REPS IN LONDON HAD APPROACHED THE FOREIGN OFFICE AS RECENTLY AS APRIL 2 WITH A REQUEST FOR BRITISH SUPPORT IN CALLING A SPECIAL SESSION. BRAEUTIGAM REPEATED THE FRG VIEW THAT THERE WAS NO NEED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION AND THAT SUCH TREATMENT WOULD BE AGAINST FRG INTERESTS. HE POINTED OUT THAT SINCE THE SPECIAL SESSION WOULD PROBABLY DEAL ONLY WITH THE FRG AND GDR APPLICATIONS, IT WOULD PROVIDE THE GDR WITH A MUCH BETTER FORUM FOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS THAN WOULD THE FALL SESSION WITH ITS CROWDED AGENDA.

13. BRAEUTIGAM SAID THAT THE FRG WOULD ALSO PREFER TO HAVE APPROVAL OF ITS MEMBERSHIP AT THE FALL SESSION
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SERVE AS A BACKDROP FOR APPEARANCES BY FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL AND CHANCELLOR BRANDT BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

HE THOUGHT SCHEEL WOULD GIVE A SHORT SPEECH AT THE TIME MEMBERSHIP WAS APPROVED AND THAT THE CHANCELLOR WOULD COME SOME TIME LATER WHEN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SCHEDULES WOULD ALLOW HIM TO MAKE A LONGER SPEECH. BRAEUTIGAM STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT FINAL DECISION HAD NOT YET BEEN MADE.

14. EMBASSY COMMENT: FROM THE RESULTS OF THE APRIL 10 MEETING, IT APPEARS THAT THE BONN GROUP REPRESENTATIVES ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING TO UN MEMBERSHIP. WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT AND COMMENTS FROM USBER AND USUN ON THE VARIOUS QUESTIONS WHICH AROSE IN THIS DISCUSSION. IT IS PLANNED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER AT THE NEXT BONN GROUP MEETING, WHICH IS NOW SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18.
HILLENBRAND

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